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THE MILITANT

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ROOSEVELT ORDERS UNION PENALTIES

AMGOT PAVES THE WAY FOR A REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN ITALY

By Anthony Massini

In Quebec this week the Allied leaders were working out new political and military plans for the war and the post-war period. But it is from Sicily, and the dispatches about the operations of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories (AMGOT or AMG), that we are able to get a clear picture of what it is that the Allied leaders are fighting for.

The most complete and revealing public reports of AMGOT activity have been given by Herbert L. Matthews, correspondent of the N. Y. Times, who has such a good inside track in Sicily that he has even been used to broadcast to the Italian mainland about the benevolent attitude of the Allied officials toward the local fascists. In the N. Y. Times Magazine of August 22, Matthews not only recapitulates his previous reports on the policies of AMGOT but also explains what effects these policies will have on Italy after the period of military occupation is terminated.

"GOOD" AND "BAD"

"What AMG is trying to do," he says, "is to get the existing machinery of government working again under its supervision. . .

"The first thing they [the AMGOT officials] do is to scout around for the former officials—the Podesta, the Mayor, Chief of Police and others in charge of sanitation, health, relief, justice, and so forth. These men are interviewed and others are questioned about them. If their record is bad they're put in jail. If not, and if they show willingness to cooperate, they are restored to their functions, given help and money if necessary and told to get things going as before. . ."

Thus the fascist officials are divided into two types: "bad" fascists and "good" fascists. The "bad" ones get jail, the "good" ones get help. And the alibi for this policy is the "expediency" argument that the State Department has resorted to since the beginning of the war in explaining its willingness to collaborate with all kinds of reactionaries:

"CURIOUS" SIMILARITY

There was a fear among the fascists, says Matthews, "that the Allies would prosecute them because they were fascists. In Sicily we have demonstrated that we have no such intention, for the obvious reason that something like90% of the administration and every other walk of life is fascist and to eliminate all fascists would mean complete paralysis and chaos. . ."

And if the Italian masses, long oppressed by the people whom AMGOT is helping, were to decide that they want to "prosecute" the fascists themselves, then AMGOT, still pleading "expediency," would naturally side with the fascists. For after all, collaboration with fascists is preferable to so-called chaos.

"At the same time that fascists are of necessity being used," Matthews continues, "fascism is being destroyed—at least on paper." When every function of the state is identified with fascism, to abolish fascism would threaten to leave society high and dry. What often happens is that the fascist label is removed, but the same men carry on the same functions.

"It is curious to note that

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'Let's Hang The Mayor'

President Roosevelt asserted on July 30 that he was willing to make a deal in Italy with even a mayor, if the mayor wasn't a member of the fascist government, could get the Italian troops to lay down their ams and could prevent "anarchy."

But the Italian people have a different attitude toward their mayors, all of whom are appointees of the fascist party. As PM reports:

"American troops racing into Sicilian towns are invariably greeted by two cries, 'Viva Americanos' and 'Let's hang the mayor'."

Frauds Are Worse Than in Last War, Biddle Admits

The Big Business war frauds "are much bigger than they were in 1917 or 1918," Attorney General Biddle informed a group of United States attorneys from ten midwest states meeting in Chicago on August 23.

These frauds have already resulted in 123 federal indictments, and 1,279 investigations are pending, Biddle reported. So far 71 cases have been disposed of, with convictions or other penalties in about 90% of the cases.

Biddle complained, however, that in many cases the offenders had got off with extremely light penalties. And when Biddle makes a complaint of this kind, there must be good ground for it, because he was one of the government officials responsible shortly after Pearl Harbor for discontinuing prosecution of all violations of the anti-trust act until after the war.

A typical example of how the corporations have got away with murder for crimes endangering the lives of men in the armed forces was the Anaconda Wire and Cable case, in which the corporation and its officials were reprimanded and let off with a fine lower than the amount of money they admitted making through the delivery of defective war material.

Sanctions Order Makes Police Agents Of WLB Labor Members

AN EDITORIAL

The trade union officials are caught in the vise of the workers' growing resistance to Roosevelt's labor policies and their own support of the administration program. The President's executive order authorizing sanctions against the unions closes this vise another full turn.

When the union officials made the no-strike pledge—without consulting the workers—and agreed to serve on the War Labor Board, they took at face value Roosevelt's promise to protect the workers' standard of living. Again when they accepted the wage-freezing Little Steel formula they took as good coin the administration promise to control prices *despite the fact that the cost of living was steadily rising.* The Roosevelt-Byrnes order freezing collective bargaining evoked a mild protest from the union officials, but they nevertheless stayed in line.

The mounting protests of the workers against the steady decline in their standard of living at last forced Murray, Green and Co. to go through the motions of doing something about it. But they did not call for trade union action to defend the workers' interests as they should have done. Instead, they pleaded with Roosevelt to roll back prices.

The coal miners, however, confronted Roosevelt with a solid strike front when he tried to impose the Little Steel formula upon them. And when the administration went all-out against the mine strike, the top officials of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods supported Roosevelt against the miners. They thus stabbed in the back both the miners and their own membership in whose interests also the miners were trying to break through the Little Steel formula.

The gap between wages and prices continues to widen. Roosevelt is now calling for "truly stiff" taxes and compulsory saving which would further reduce the purchasing power of the workers. Yet the union officials do no more than to repeat over and over: "If there is no price rollback, we insist that the Little Steel formula be discarded."

Roosevelt remains unimpressed by their "insistence." He has discarded not the Little Steel formula but the policy of placing primary dependence upon the no-strike pledge for the enforcement of the wage freeze. The administration fears that control over the rank and file of the unions is beginning to slip out of the hands of the officialdom. It also reckons with the possibility of other union officials, under pressure from the membership, following John L. Lewis' example and repudiating the no-strike pledge. Therefore, Roosevelt is arming himself to apply police measures to prevent strikes.

The Smith-Connally anti-strike law and now the executive order providing sanctions against unions are vehicles for this sinister strikebreaking program. The attack upon the United Mine Workers and the criminal prosecution of thirty Pennsylvania coal miners reveals the vicious character of the administration policies.

Roosevelt will of course continue to use the timid and cowardly union officials in every way he can, and he will use their repeated reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge to help camouflage his repressive acts against the unions.

The continued presence of the union officials of the War Labor Board, now that it has punitive powers over the unions, makes them outright police agents against the workers. They have performed a police function in voting to deny the UAW-CIO a union security clause in the Chrysler agreement because of strikes by the Chrysler workers.

The trade union workers must repudiate the present treacherous policy of the officialdom. Only by independent class action can the workers halt the downward spiraling of their standard of living and protect their unions from the unfolding anti-labor campaign of the bosses, Congress and Roosevelt.

RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE.

WITHDRAW FROM THE WAR LABOR BOARD.

PUT AN END TO COMPANY-UNIONISM IN POLITICS.

ORGANIZE AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

RESISTANCE TO FASCISM GROWING INSIDE GERMANY

By Rose Carson

LONDON—The daily press has reported that serious strikes have broken out in the Ruhr factories. Workers have refused to go to work at night for fear of the terrible air raids. This can be readily understood and appreciated by British workers. They remember what took place at Coventry during the winter of 1940 when the British workers also refused to report for work during the terrifying and destructive bombing.

At that time the militia was called out, martial law was declared and the factories guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets while the Riot Act was read. No civilians were allowed in or out of the city for several days.

REACTON IN GERMANY

The reactions of the workers to the murderous air raids was similar in Germany, while the measures taken by the Nazis had their usual brutality. The *News Chronicle* reports:

"The strikes which have spread throughout the entire area, resulted in a series of searches in which it was hoped to find the ringleaders. As these proved fruitless, the Germans shot 100 workers out of hand, most of them foreigners."

From this it is clear that the majority of the people in the Ruhr were in sympathy with the strikers, since they did not allow terrorism to induce them to expose the leaders of the strikes. It shows also that foreign workers were used as scapegoats.

The riots in Munich appeared to be of a more political character. The recent execution of students and a university professor not only belie the complete unity of the German nation, it also shows active opposition to the regime. Particularly is this important since the German students and professors were among the first

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More Unions Support Fight To Free Postal

Donations from three more local unions—one CIO, the second AFL, and the third independent—were received by the Civil Rights Defense Committee last week to further the Committee's campaign to win a pardon for Kelly Postal, Minneapolis union leader now serving a five-year prison sentence on trumped-up charges.

The unions were: UAW-CIO Local 217 of Cleveland; ILGWU, Knitgoods Workers Local 155 of New York; and Brewery Workers Local 9 of Milwaukee.

Support for the campaign to free Postal has been received from all sections of the labor movement, the CRDC announced. The Michigan CIO has adopted a strong resolution calling for his release and urging its affiliated locals to extend all possible moral and financial support. The Sacramento and Boston CIO Councils have both extended generous aid to the CRDC.

Locals from a total of eight CIO internationals, four AFL internationals and one unaffiliated international (the Brewery Workers) have helped to finance the Postal Defense Fund, CRDC records show. **The UAW-CIO leads all the other internationals, with twenty locals who have given financial assistance in this case.**

In addition a barrage of letters from labor and liberal spokesmen in all parts of the country is pouring into the office of Minnesota Governor Ed Thye, St. Paul, pointing out that Postal was "guilty" only of obeying the mandate of his union in transferring its local funds to the CIO when it disaffiliated from the AFL.

These letters and petitions being filled out in several industrial states, call on Governor Thye to take steps to pardon the imprisoned union leader. **Many of these letters point out that the imprisonment of Postal is not only a grave injustice against an honorable union leader but sets a dangerous precedent which can be used against other union leaders and against the democratic rights of labor.**

"Free Kelly Postal" petitions can be secured from the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York.

'Courier' Review Praises Pamphlet By Albert Parker

"A hard-hitting pamphlet" is Constance Nicholas' estimate, in the August 21 Pittsburgh Courier, of the new pamphlet, "Negroes in the Post-War World" by Albert Parker, regular columnist in The Militant.

Miss Nichols' review of the pamphlet reads as follows:

"I am very enthusiastic about this timely pamphlet, 'Negroes in the Post-War World,' by Albert Parker (Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., $.05).

"It is a strong, hard-hitting, unrestricted dissertation on the discrimination and segregation the American Negro is forced to live under today in a form of democracy which the author deems hypocritical in every sense, and a foresight on what the Negro may expect in a capitalistic post-war world if it proceeds with the same tempo of today. With authenticity and justified bitterness Parker berates the bestial policy of segregation among our armed forces. . .

"He is equally contemptuous of and embittered by the actions of Uncle Toms, such as Patterson, of Tuskegee; Congressman Dawson, of Chicago, and demagogues like Rankin, Talmadge and Dixon. He assures us that the Negroes and whites alike must be educated against these men.

"His conclusion is that by adopting Socialism, through the medium of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, 'Negroes will be able to meet and defeat the challenge of their enemies in the post-war world.'"

Labor Members On WLB Vote Against CIO Auto Workers

The War Labor Board voted unanimously on August 18 to deny maintenance-of-membership and dues check-off provisions to the UAW-CIO in a working agreement with the Chrysler Corporation. This is the first time the labor members of the board have voted against the union security clauses in a union contract. The action was taken for the announced purpose of punishing the union membership for striking.

There were 66 strikes in Chrysler plants from December, 1941 to January, 1943, according to the WLB panel report. 25,000 workers struck at seven Detroit plants in May, 1943. As a matter of fact, several hundred workers were out on strike at the Kercheval plant of Chrysler in Detroit the very day of the WLB action.

The big May strike, as **The Militant** of May 29 reported, was provoked **"by the management's failure to bargain in good faith and settle the ever mounting grievances accumulated over the past eleven months."**

"The rank and file made their sentiments known in no uncertain terms," wrote **The Militant** correspondent from the scene of action. "They intended to see that the company bargained in good faith and were determined to stage another walkout if the management failed to live up to its agreement.

"These workers went back to the plants only after overwhelming pressure from the entire Federal and State governmental apparatus, the War Labor Board, the Army and Navy top officers, the FBI, the management supported by the whole capitalist press and all the radio news commentators. On top of all this the workers found that their own international officers were arrayed against them to a man."

At the meeting where the union membership under this terrific pressure voted to return to work, one of the workers, voicing the sentiments of the rank and file, called upon the top officialdom to "represent the workers and not the management."

Brazenly ignoring this severe reprimand of the workers, the labor members of the WLB have combined with the corporation agents and their "public member" tools on the board to impose sanctions against the union in Chrysler. By their action they have again given open support to the union-hating corporations and the new anti-labor drive of the government.

Civil Rights Defense Committee Aids In Reducing Bail for Carl Skoglund

The Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week that as a result of their intervention for Carl Skoglund with the Federal Bureau of Immigration, aided and supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, Skoglund's bail bond has been reduced from $2,500 to $1,000. The premium on this bond will be paid by the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Carl Skoglund came to this country from Sweden about 30 years ago. He worked here as a lumberjack, miner, railroad worker and truck driver. During the years from 1934 to 1941 he was an organizer for Minneapolis Teamsters, Local 544, and was elected president of the Local in 1938.

In 1940 Skoglund applied for citizenship and his application was denied on the ground that he had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party. A year later, in July, 1941, he together with 28 others was indicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, and with 17 others convicted in December of that year.

Immediately after the indictment, Skoglund was arrested by the Federal Bureau of Immigration and held for deportation, charged with being a member of an organization that advocated the violent overthrow of the Government. The first bail demanded was $25,000, but this was finally reduced to $2,500 and Skoglund has been out on bail since then.

A hearing was held on the deportation charges early in 1942 and an order of deportation was entered against him. No announcement has been made with reference to this order by the Department of Immigration.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting the defense of the 18, including Carl Skoglund, convicted under the infamous "Gag" Act, and is awaiting a decision from the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. If necessary, the case will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, at which time the American Civil Liberties Union will test the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

New Decree Imposes Harsh Sanctions Against Strikers

Vicious Provisions of Smith-Connally Law Supplemented by Latest Executive Order

By Farrell Dobbs

Drastic sanctions against striking unions and individual strikers were decreed by President Roosevelt in an executive order issued on August 16. Penalties to be imposed against unions when the government seizes struck plants include withholding union dues collected through the check-off and the suspension or denial of union security provisions in working agreements. Individual strikers may be drafted into the armed forces or blacklisted in industry.

Supplementing the order, Roosevelt wrote to William H. Davis, War Labor Board chairman, defining the procedure in imposing the sanctions and emphasizing that the Smith-Connally Act provides for the criminal prosecution of strikers in industries taken over by the government. Thirty Pennsylvania coal miners are now being prosecuted by Roosevelt - Biddle under this Act.

The new executive order authorizes the withholding of "any benefits, privileges or rights" in taking sanctions against the unions. This sweeping generalization leaves the door wide open for the application of numerous penalties.

The Selective Service System has recently amended its regulations to provide for terminating the deferments of registrants "not supporting" or "adversely affecting" the war effort.

Certificates of availability would be denied to striking workers by the War Manpower Commission, thereby blacklisting them in industry.

"TEETH" AGAINST LABOR

Sanctions directed against individual workers can be applied with or without government control of struck plants.

Hailing the executive order, a WLB official said: "This gives the board teeth with which to bite the employes. . ."

Armed with its new powers, the WLB has threatened striking newspaper drivers in New York City with "severe penalties" and has asked the bosses for the names of employes failing to return to work.

Proceedings against three firms violating WLB orders have begun since the sanctions order was issued. They are Montgomery-Ward, a Brooklyn iron works and a Bauxite, Ark. contractor. The main issue is the maintenance-of-membership clause.

Roosevelt recommended in his letter to Davis that in cases where employers violate WLB orders "less drastic sanctions" than plant seizure be applied.

During the mine strikes the WLB refused to request government action against any employer until the board was given punitive powers against the unions. **The proceedings against the above firms are generally viewed as part of a maneuver in preparation for a renewed assault on the United Mine Workers by the Roosevelt administration.**

UNION LEADERS WORRIED

R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, in a statement to the United Press criticized the executive order:

"The WLB was conceived as a mediation and arbitration agency," Thomas declared, "and not as an agency to execute sanctions and penalties against workers and their organizations."

"It will diminish the standing of the WLB in the eyes of the workers," Thomas added in a masterpiece of understatement reflecting his own fears of the reaction of the workers to the harsh Roosevelt decree.

The sanctions order is called the "high-water mark of reaction" in the August 21 *New Leader*. "The President," writes the Social-Democratic organ, "appeared to serve notice that he has come to an open break with the New Deal."

The *N. Y. Times* of August 20 editorially welcomes the Roosevelt order but feels it doesn't go far enough.

"There is no reason to suppose... that this withdrawal of 'benefits' could mean a reduction of wages or would otherwise adversely affect the conditions of employment of individual union members," complains this leading spokesman for Big Business. "It is difficult to see how it could leave any union much worse off than it would have been before the passage of the Wagner Act."

STALINIST WHITEWASH

The Stalinist Daily Worker, most brazen apologist for Roosevelt in the labor movement, attempts in the August 20 issue to frame up an alibi for the anti-union sanctions order. The Stalinists dishonestly contend that the order "came in compliance with a provision of the Smith-Connally Act." Stressing the veto of this Act by the President, they thus seek to imply that he acted against his will in issuing the sanctions order. Roosevelt's veto message itself exposes this shameless attempt to white-wash him.

Referring to the first seven provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, the President said in his veto message: "If the bill were limited to these seven sections, I would sign it."

This portion of the Act which met Roosevelt's approval contains

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

By E. R. Frank

While the CIO local unions under the leadership of Murray and Hillman are working up a lather to convert reactionary, anti-labor congressmen into "pro-labor" congressmen and trying to line them up behind Roosevelt, Roosevelt himself proceeds to deliver another body blow to the labor movement by his decree authorizing sanctions against labor unions and individual union members. The "statesmen of labor" haven't said very much as yet about this new vicious anti-labor attack. They are still reeling under the impact of the blow.

..*

The August 13 number of the *Washington Teamster* states that "Organized labor, which spoke through its national leaders recently in a demand for a price rollback to March, 1942 levels, is marking time, waiting for President Roosevelt's new anti-inflation program..."

The labor movement cannot stand still, it cannot "mark time." Either it goes forward or it goes backward. And under the leadership of the Murrays and Greens it surely isn't going forward.

* * *

Senator La Follette has broken with the Roosevelt administration. The Senator, who tries to keep his ear close to the ground, has now come to the conclusion that "The New Deal is Dead."

Under this title, the leading article of the August 16 *Progressive*, La Follette's Magazine, written by Fred Rodell, accuses Roosevelt of having "betrayed" the "progressives." "Three recent and revealing examples should hammer that point home," writes Rodell.

"After blasting the original Ruml Plan to refund taxes to the rich, he (Roosevelt) OK'd what has accurately been called the Ruml plan set to three-quarter time. As though to say that it is wicked to steal a million dollars but it is perfectly proper to compromise by stealing $750,000.

"After letting his lieutenants in Congress speak up for the anti-strike bill, he vetoed it behind their backs and made not the slightest effort to have his veto upheld — which he could have accomplished by snapping his fingers. His hypocrisy here fooled no one — least of all labor.

"And then there was the Wallace-Jones episode — with the Presidential letter so carefully worded to sound superficially impartial, but with the actual effect, just as carefully planned, to strip Wallace of all authority and Jones of practically none. This double deal fooled no one either.

"Notice that in each of these instances the progressives took the knifing. Notice that in each instance the President tried to conceal the knife."

* * *

The sensational victories of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canadian counterpart of the British Labor Party, in winning 34 out of 90 seats in the Ontario legislature, is bound to have important repercussions in this country and will unquestionably inspire the workers to renewed efforts in building their own independent party of labor.

The August 15 *United Automobile Worker* reports that A. Nelson Alles, one of the victorious CCF legislative candidates, is a member of the UAW-CIO and one of the pioneer organizers of Ford local 240 of Windsor, Ontario.

* * *

The War Labor Board, taking over jurisdiction of the anthracite coal controversy at the request of the Anthracite Coal Operators Association, has set a public hearing for August 23.

In line with the policy adopted at the time of the Illinois contract, the UMW has signified its intention of appearing before the board. The anthracite wage negotiations affect approximately 80,000 hard coal miners. Negotiations first began on March 31 and have been continuing, on and off, for four and a half months.

The final wage demand of the UMW negotiators is an increase of $1.30 a day. The operators refused to offer any increases beyond 64 cents a day.

The intentions of the board in assuming jurisdiction of the hard coal case seem ominous indeed, when we recall that the board has made no decision as yet on the Illinois mine contract wage increase proposals, although the Illinois case has been in its hands for one month. Coming on the background of the announcement of the 48 hour week for the coal mines and Roosevelt's new decree on "sanctions" against unions, it appears that the government is determined to force the coal miners to continue working under the existing scandalous conditions and low wages.

The campaign against the coal miners is clearly exposed as part of the campaign against all American labor.

Federal Judge F. P. Schoonmaker overruled the motion of defense counsel to quash indictments under the Smith-Connally Act against 30 officers and members of the United Mine Workers charged with striking and encouraging a strike in Western Pennsylvania. The judge ruled that the "slave labor" law was perfectly constitutional and that the 30 miners must stand trial on September 1.

* * *

..Applesauce Department: — Donald Montgomery,Consumers Counsel of the United Auto Workers Union, reports from Washington in the August 15 *United Auto Worker:* "Better news this time. There will be *some* rollback of food prices, and soon. That's not a guarantee, but it's a good sporting bet. I have reasons to believe the President has taken a hand in the decisions and intends to have food prices rolled back, not all foods, but enough to make a sizeable dent in the food price index."

* * *

The War Department is helping to spread peon conditions among cotton, fruit and other farm laborers in the Southern states.

A confidential report of the War Manpower Commission discloses that war prisoners are being used extensively in Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Kentucky, New Mexico, although all these areas have plently of farm labor. Between 350 and 400 private contracts for war prisoners were in force during June and July of this year. **Under more than half of the contracts, wages ranged between 10 and 24 cents an hour.**

* * *

The War Labor Board voted on August 18 to punish the Chrysler locals of the UAW by turning down the union demand for "maintenance of membership" and check-off of dues. This punitive act is in reprisal against the four-day "insurgent" strike of the Chrysler workers on May 20.

The Militant called the turn on the trend of events January 23, 1943. It wrote at that time: "The War Labor Board is now embarking on an ambitious program to 'discipline' the labor movement, to mold its policy and to influence the selection of its leadership. . . The War Labor Board has thus emerged as a governmental super-executive board of the labor movement. . . This constantly increasing assumption of power is possible only because the leadership of the CIO and AFL have gone over lock, stock and barrel to the war machine."

The Chrysler decision of the WLB reveals not only the cold, calculated intention of the Roosevelt administration to housebreak the labor movement, to crack down on every militant and hound him out of positions of influence even if he has to be dragooned off to the army or to jail. It reveals more than that. It discloses the fact that the top officials of the labor unions are in a conspiracy with Roosevelt against their own membership. It is the first case on record where the "labor zombies" on the board voted in favor of punitive actions against an important AFL or CIO union.

Daniel De Leon was a thousand times right when he branded union officials of this type "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

NEW YORK BEACH PARTY

Time: SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, from 11 A. M. on

Place: JACOB RIIS PARK, Bay 5

Instructions: Take Seventh Avenue subway downtown to Flatbush Avenue, transfer to either the Jacob Riis Park or Rockaway Park bus.

Swim - play golf - baseball - tennis - handball

Subscription 50c - and this includes your lunch!

—o—

Auspices: Central branch, Socialist Workers Party

The Struggle To Control The ALP

By Philip Blake

The policy of the newly-established CIO Political Action Committee, headed by Sidney Hillman, is to curry favor with Roosevelt in the hope that Roosevelt in return will protect the labor officials against the blows of Congress and Big Business. Its method is to try to restore the prestige of Roosevelt among labor's ranks; to strengthen Roosevelt's hand in the present Congress; to prepare for the re-election of Roosevelt in 1944 and to elect a stable Democratic majority in the Congress.

The first move of the Political Action Committee, therefore, was to throw the full strength of the national CIO leadership against the growing sentiment and demand in the union ranks for the creation of an independent labor party. Hillman has already held three regional conferences—in Philadelphia, Chicago and Birmingham—and boasted in an interview with Federated Press on August 20 that "third party moves in Michigan and New Jersey have died out." (The political situation in these states will be examined in articles to be printed in coming issues of **The Militant.**)

But in New York State a different situation prevails. Already established as the spokesman for a significant section of the union movement in the state and in possession of an official place on the ballot is the American Labor Party, which was able to poll more than 400,000 votes in opposition to the Democratic and Republican Party candidates in last year's gubernatorial election.

The present leadership of the ALP of course has no intention of transforming it into the kind of a political instrument which will meet the needs and satisfy the aspirations of the unions' ranks. The party was originally established as a means of winning votes for the New Deal from those workers in New York whose traditions and elementary class-consciousness had ingrained within them an opposition to supporting capitalist party tickets. And by and large it has been kept tied to the Roosevelt administration since its inception. It is a bureaucratically run organization, with the rank and file permitted to say little about its leadership or policies. As a result its program is hardly distinguishable from that of the liberal Democrats.

Nevertheless, it is still a labor party based for the most part on the unions; it is supported by the most advanced union members in the state and despite its weaknesses and shortcomings it deserves the support of all unionists in electoral struggles against the candidates of the capitalist parties. For these reasons the union militants should be intensely concerned with the present fight going on for control of the party and with Hillman's intervention in this fight.

An Unprincipled Fight

For several years now the ALP has been wracked and weakened by an unprincipled cat and dog fight between the Dubinsky-Social Democratic and Stalinist factions, each striving to maintain or seize organizational control of the party, although they have put forth virtually the same program since Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in 1941.

The Dubinsky group, which at present controls the state apparatus of the ALP, is based on the ILGWU and some of the non-Stalinist controlled CIO unions such as the Retail Clerks, the United Auto Workers, etc. The Stalinists, who won control of the New York City organization at the primary election held this month, draw support from their domination of CIO unions such as the UE, the NMU, the TWU, Furriers, etc. In addition, the Stalinists have flooded the district ALP clubs with their members and have taken over a good many of these clubs.

Both these groups support the war and the administration. Both have called for the re-election of Roosevelt in 1944. Both are opposed to a genuine break with the capitalist parties and the practice of supporting capitalist party candidates. That is why it was so difficult for either group to arouse enthusiasm among the party members in the recent city primaries.

The policies of the two groups are illustrated by their approach to the problem of the coming election of a lieutenant-governor. The Stalinists were quick to demand that the ALP must not run its own candidate, but must on the contrary support the Democratic candidate, no matter who he was, so that the Republicans might be defeated.

Struggle For Domination

The ALP state committee met to consider the question on August 21, before the Democrats had picked their candidate. **The Stalinists complained that "ugly rumors" were circulating to the effect that the ALP was going to run its own candidate. Alex Rose, state secretary, indignantly denied the truth of such rumors.** Then the Dubinsky group passed a resolution picking Joseph V. O'Leary as their candidate and promising to withdraw him if the capitalist parties selected a candidate "acceptable to labor." The Stalinists objected to this procedure because it would leave the whole question in the hands of a vacancies committee of three Dubinskyites; their own proposal was to postpone action on the question until after the Democrats had chosen their candidate, so that the Stalinists too would have a voice in the final decision.

The fight between these factions, plainly enough, is not over principle or program, but over control of the organization. The Dubinsky group has a stricty Social Democratic hatred of the Stalinists, refusing to collaborate with the Stalinists even though they have the same policies, and trying to exclude the Stalinists from the leadership of the organization so that their own domination will not be endangered. As a result the Stalinists are compelled to fight back; they do this with some reluctance perhaps because for their own part they are willing to collaborate with Dubinsky and the Social Democrats and any one else, including Farley and Hague, if it will further the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

In addition the fight is an attempt by each side to win consideration and concessions from the administration by demonstrating that it is the most reliable and valuable servant of the White House in restraining and strangling the movement of the workers toward independent political action.

The Hillman Plan

Into this situation Hillman has come with a "plan" bearing the endorsement of Philip Murray and the other CIO bureaucrats. As expressed by himself in a letter to the State CIO Council last week, Hillman's plan is as follows:

"My proposal, in brief, is that all trade unions of the state, CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and unaffiliated, shall be invited to affiliate themselves with the party and to pay to it a per capita tax based upon their membership within the state. All matters of party policy are to be democratically determined by the vote of the representatives of the participating trade unions, based upon their per capita tax payments to the party."

This plan, says Hillman, would do away with "ancient political feuds or the injection of extraneous issues," strengthen the ALP and unite the pro-Roosevelt forces. But to understand its true purpose, one must bear in mind the attitude of Hillman toward the ALP in the recent period, particularly in 1942, and the already expressed aims of the CIO Political Action Committee.

What Hillman Really Wants

Hillman was one of the founders of the ALP, but last year when its leaders found themselves in a position where they could not support the Democratic candidate for governor and had to run a candidate of their own, Hillman walked out of the ALP and forced the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to discontinue all support. That was how strongly Hillman was opposed to any tendency toward independent labor politics. If he comes around now with a plan supposed to strengthen the ALP, it is surely not because he has the interests of the ALP at heart, but rather because he wants to clamp his own stranglehold on the organization so that he can be sure it won't stray out of the White House orbit.

Hillman's plan will not result under present conditions, when the state AFL leaders are still tied to the Democratic Party, in bringing into the ALP any important forces outside of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The return of the ACW, itself bureaucratically dominated by the Hillman machine, will not mean the establishment of democracy in the ALP, but rather the shifting of control away from the Dubinsky group toward Hillman whose plan has already been hailed and assured of full support by the Stalinists.

Willingness to collaborate with the Stalinists, or at any rate to accept their support, is the chief tactical difference at the present time between Hillman and Murray on the one hand and figures like Dubinsky on the other. Like his master Roosevelt, who is willing for the time being to accept an alliance with Stalin on the international scene so long as American capitalism has the upper hand, so is Hillman willing to work along with the American Stalinists in the union movement here. With their support in New York State, Hillman will be able to take over the ALP. The State CIO Council endorsed his plan last week. Two days later Hillman publicly declared that he and his forces would enter the state ALP primary contest next April unless the present ALP leaders accepted his plan before then. The Dubinsky group, already hard pressed by the Stalinists, thus faces the risk of being eliminated from the leadership altogether unless it comes to terms with Hillman.

Task Of Union Militants

The only alternative to the certain stagnation and degeneration into which the ALP will sink if its fate is left up to any or all of these three factions, is for the union militants to take the leadership of the organization into their own hands. To do that the militants must work out a program which can arouse the initiative and inspire the enthusiasm of the more than two million New York unionists inside and outside of the ALP. And the first plank in that program can only be the demand for a complete and unequivocal break with the policies and politicians of the capitalist parties.

Branches Commemorate Death Of Leon Trotsky

New York

NEW YORK—Two hundred New York members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party attended the meeting commemorating the third anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky held at Irving Plaza on August 22. The meeting opened with the playing of the Workers Funeral Song by Betty Kuehn, violinist.

The speaker of the evening was Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the SWP. In introducing him, Joseph Hansen, chairman of the meeting, stated: "In a party notable for the youth of its members, as ours is, we treasure particularly those of our cadre, who, like Comrade Dunne, represent in their own experience an entire epoch of Marxism in this country."

Comrade Dunne in his address first elaborated on the many aspects of Leon Trotsky's lifetime career as a revolutionist. "He was not only a great theoretician and writer," he said, "but a revolutionary man of action."

TROTSKY'S ROLE

Then he reviewed the activities of Trotsky as president of the Petersburg Soviet of 1905; organizer of the October insurrection which, together with Lenin, he directed; organizer of the Red Army; co-founder of the first workers' state; and co-founder of the Third International. He was also a great orator, whose speeches, clear and forceful, educated and inspired the masses of Russian workers, peasants and soldiers.

"Not only did Trotsky play this active role in the first successful workers' revolution," Dunne continued, "but he also became the first historian of a workers' state. The 'History of the Russian Revolution' is not only a great literary masterpiece, but an invaluable textbook for those who seek to complete the task he and his co-workers so gloriously began."

Comrade Dunne then outlined briefly the life of Leon Trotsky from his first underground activity as a youth of 18; his imprisonments and exile under Czarist rule; his role in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917; his exile from the Soviet Union; the persecution of him, his family and his associates; and his brutal murder three years ago by Stalin's henchman.

"BEING CONFIRMED TODAY"

The speaker described how in the face of constant difficulties and dangers, Comrade Trotsky continued his work in exile — writing, organizing, and founding a new international revolutionary movement. Everything that has transpired in the three years since Trotsky's death, concluded Comrade Dunne, has verified Trotsky's prophecies and convictions. "His unswerving faith in the socialist future and his supreme confidence in the revolutionary might of the workers is being confirmed today in Italy, and will be tomorrow throughout Europe, Asia, and the entire world."

Inspired by Comrade Dunne's brilliant portrayal of Trotsky's great contributions in the workers' struggle for socialism, the audience contributed $367.50 to help carry on the work of the Socialist Workers Party. Numerous books and pamphlets by Leon Trotsky as well as other pamphlets of the SWP were sold at the literature table.

The meeting closed with the singing of The Internationale.

New York Telegram To Natalia Trotsky

The New York Trotsky Memorial Meeting sent the following telegram to Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of the founder of the Fourth International:

"On the third anniversary of the tragic death of our martyred leader, two hundred workers and friends of the Trotskyist movement, gathered in a Memorial Meeting in New York City, send you our deepest sympathy and assurances of continued loyalty to the revolutionary principles for which the Old Man lived and died.

"The inspiring revolt of the Italian masses against war and fascism is the most powerful confirmation of the correctness of Trotsky's program and perspectives. Together with you we continue the fight which will surely end in the socialist victory of the international proletariat."

Allentown

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — A joint meeting of the Allentown and Quakertown comrades and friends to commemorate the third anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky was held at Allentown, Pa. on August 21.

The memorial address was given by Comrade J. Fitch. Leona Massey presided. The meeting voted to send the following telegram to Natalia Trotsky:

"A district memorial meeting in Allentown, Pa. sends you comradely greetings and pledges anew to carry forward the ideas of Comrade Trotsky which, always unshakeable in the ranks of the Fourth International, are now being confirmed daily in the crucible of world events."

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, August 22 — Over one hundred persons, members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, attended a Trotsky Memorial Meeting here tonight. Following a memorial address by Murry Weiss, the film "Tsar to Lenin" was shown. A telegram of warmest revolutionary greetings was sent to Natalia Sedov Trotsky by the meeting.

The audience demonstrated its appreciation of the life work of Leon Trotsky by contributing $71.00 to further the work of the Socialist Workers Party, and by buying literature from the display of Trotsky's works.

Newark

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 21. — The Trotsky Memorial Meeting, held here last night under the auspices of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party, was addressed by V. R. Dunne, noted northwest labor leader and national labor secretary of the SWP.

Comrade Dunne paid tribute to the life-long revolutionary activities and teachings of the great Marxist leader who was struck down by a GPU assassin three years ago. The speaker showed how Trotsky had defended and continued the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin in preserving and contributing to the revolutionary program which will be the guide and the banner of the masses of the whole world.

Detroit

DETROIT, Mich. — At the Trotsky Memorial meeting held by the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit on August 21, Comrade M. Stein, known to many through the columns of **The Militant**, was the main speaker.

Comrade Stein pointed out that although Trotsky was the leader of two workers' revolutions and the brilliant organizer of the Red Army, his greatest contribution was in the struggle against the crimes of Stalinism. Trotsky keenly perceived as early as 1923 the treacherous role Stalin would play in the revolutionary movement. Thanks to the invincible will, conviction, and courage with which he applied himself to the struggle against the betrayers in the Kremlin, the Fourth International was created. This World Party of the Socialist Revolution exists today to complete the great work which Stalin's assassin forced Trotsky to leave unfinished.

"Today Trotskyism is synonymous with world revolution," said Stein, "and we may be sure that all over the world on this memorial occasion our co-thinkers will pause to remember the great debt which we owe Comrade Trotsky. He rescued the revolutionary vanguard from the Stalinist morass and kept unsoiled the banner of international socialism."

The meeting voted to send a telegram of greetings and solidarity to Comrade Natalia Trotsky in Mexico City.

Akron

The Akron Branch of the Socialist Workers Party observed the anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky at a meeting held on Sunday, August 22.

Comrade A. Wood of Detroit was the feature speaker of the meeting. He described in his address the contributions of the great Marxist teacher and leader to the movement of world revolution and the untiring devotion and the tremendous sacrifices that Trotsky had made throughout his lifetime to the socialist cause. His example serves as an inspiration to all revolutionary fighters.

The audience enthusiastically responded to the remarks of the speaker and sent the following telegram to Comrade Natalia Trotsky: "We greet you on the third anniversary of the loss of our great leader and pledge ourselves to fight on to victory for his great principles."

Twin Cities

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — "In the revolt of the Italian workers after 20 years of brutal fascism, the ideas of Leon Trotsky still live, and the red banner of socialism comes forward once more. Only the Fourth International, the party of final victory over fascism and decaying capitalism, can bring peace and plenty to the workers of the world," declared Art Preis in his speech at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting sponsored by the Minneapolis and St. Paul Branches of the Socialist Workers Party on August 21.

On his first visit to the Twin Cities, Comrade Preis spoke to a large, attentive audience in the headquarters of the Minneapolis Branch. He paid tribute to the life and work of Leon Trotsky and demonstrated that the revolt of the Italian workers and its repercussions throughout Europe presaged the full vindication of Trotsky's ideas and his conviction in the inevitable triumph of the Socialist revolution.

A telegram to Natalia Trotsky, pledging to "carry on the ideas and work for which Leon Trotsky lived and died," was sent from the meeting. A collection of $52 was taken.

The meeting was opened with the singing of the Workers' Flag and closed with the International.

Boston

BOSTON, Mass. — The Boston Branch of the S. W. P. held a Trotsky Memorial meeting at the Workers Center in downtown Boston on Saturday, August 14.

The first speaker, Comrade London, analyzed the important events from the end of the last war leading up to the revolt of the Italian masses in 1943.

The second speaker, Comrade Barbour, gave a biographical sketch of Comrade Trotsky's life and the lessons that all revolutionists can learn from it.

Comrade Antoinette Konikow, the leading speaker of the meeting, who had known Trotsky for a number of years, contrasted in her remarks the real Trotsky with the slanderous and lying picture of him presented in the Davies film "Mission To Moscow," which she had just seen.

The audience responded enthusiastically to the speakers remarks and voted to send greetings to Comrade Trotsky. The meeting closed with the singing of The Internationale.

NEW YORK SWP PUSHES CANNON BOOK CAMPAIGN

The seven-week educational and distribution campaign of Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, to promote James P. Cannon's book, "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," launched on July 18, has already achieved creditable results. Branches throughout the city have been active in the work of selling the book, and it is confidently expected that the quota of 200 accepted by Local New York will have been reached at the completion of the campaign.

Central Branch, the largest of the New York branches, leads the competition with 100 books sold since the beginning of the campaign. The Brooklyn Branch has sold 10 books, the Queens Branch 8 books, for a grand total of 118.

Highest individual score thus far goes to Richard Kellner, who has sold 10 copies. Second in the lead is Larissa Reed, with a total of 6 books to her credit.

A Cannon Book Campaign Rally, scheduled for Saturday night, Aug. 28, will be held for the purpose of planning the next steps. A mimeographed symposium bulletin, similar to the one issued during the drive to sell Leon Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism" earlier this year, will be issued in the near future to provide further impetus to the local drive.

A city-wide social in honor of the team selling the highest number of books will be held at the conclusion of the campaign.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Albert Parker

Jim Crow Still Going Full Blast

Following are a few items picked from last week's press as evidence that Jim Crow is as hale and hearty as ever, apparently working on the job 24 hours a day.

* * *

Henry Ford, who posed as a "friend of the Negro people" during the period when he still hoped to be able to use Negro workers to prevent the unionization of his industrial empire, stands charged with "violating the letter and the spirit of the executive order on Fair Employment Practices."

According to Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, the Ford Motor Company has consistently refused since April 1 to hire Negro applicants through regular employment channels; has subjected all Negro applicants to investigation by its notorious "Sociological Department;" has repeatedly refused to honor an agreement with the union providing for job preference for the wives, sisters and daughters of Ford workers called to military service when those women have been relatives of Negroes, etc.

* * *

Two methods of preserving Jim Crow conditions through the Selective Service are described in the latest press service of the Workers Defense League.

The first, based on an investigation made by Southern WDL Secretary Frank McCallister, shows that many planters in the South are promising draft deferment to their sharecroppers if they will sign a yellow-dog contract agreeing to stay on the planters' farm for at least five years. "In some instances, where Southern Tenant Farmers' Union members refused to sign, they were kicked off the plantation and their crop taken away." **According to McCallister, "it appeared many planters were getting draft-deferment blanks in quantities from Selective Service Boards" and using them to further this campaign.**

* * *

The second method is based on information described to the WDL by B. F. McLaurin, international representative of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters Union, who reports "that in many areas of the South Negro locomotive firemen and train porters, whose occupations have been declared deferrable, have been drafted while white locomotive firemen have been exempted. . . Two cities in which this procedure has been common are Augusta and Macon, Georgia."

McLaurin also charges that the Southeastern Railroads "are hiring relatively large numbers of white firemen—more than are needed for their present needs—and hoarding this potential reservoir of manpower while they await the drafting and eventual complete elemination of Negro firemen."

* * *

Barnesville, Ga., has its own brand of work-or-fight order, issued by the mayor of the town in a circular addressed to "all domestic servants. (All domestic servants in Barnesville, according to the NAACP Atlanta branch, are Negroes.) The order reads as follows:

"Those living in the city of Barnesville, whether men or women, who have been employed as cooks and nurses, and who are not now employed, will be arrested and prosecuted and no excuse except a certificate from a physician will be accepted.

"Those who do not like the terms of this warning must realize that we all, regardless of financial means, must either work, fight or leave this city. This is the final warning. The police force of the city has been instructed to enforce this warning."

* * *

The WAVEs are pleading for enlistments by women. Many Navy officials have issued public statements in an effort to increase enlistments which are apparently well below the number desired by the administration.

But when Negro women volunteer—that's another story. When a number of Negro women applied at the recruiting station in Washington, D. C., a few days ago, the officials went to the point of shutting their doors "because of the heat," although it was no hotter than any other day and although the reception given the Negro applicants was positively cold.

Navy and WAVE officials denied later that they were refusing to accept applications from Negro women. "But," explained Lt. Commander Atkinson, "there is nothing we can do but take names and addresses." Rumor has it that the Navy is working out some "arrangement" whereby Negro women will be admitted. The arrangement of course will be strictly Jim Crow, otherwise the Negro women would be accepted now.

* * *

The Chicago Defender has unearthed a very illuminating document issued by the commanding general as "educational" material for Camp Stewart, Ga., scene of a number of armed clashes involving Negro soldiers.

One part of the document, amazingly enough, asserts: "Most slave-owners were good-hearted, Christian people who liked for everyone around them to be happy. There were, as a rule, good to their slaves."

Another part of the document, addressed to the officers to "use your S-2 Section and organize a counter-subversive system. Select as secret agents qualified and patriotic men in each barracks. Instruct these men carefully and secretly. Give them code names and have them mail their reports to you except in emergency."

Thus the army bureaucrats expect to curb the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, which arises from the segregation system and the Jim Crow treatment of the Army, by spying on them!

* * *

Hitler is retreating on the eastern front and Mussolini is an ex-dictator. But Jim Crow is as brazen and aggressive and powerful as he ever has been during the 20th century. If the Negro people want to overthrow THIS dictator, then they dare not wait until the end of the war before they start to deliver their first blows.

Pioneer Paragraphs

DECLINE OF CAPITALISM POSES TWO ALTERNATIVES

By Albert Goldman

There are certain diseases in youth which are latent and not until old age sets in does the individual become aware of their existence. . .

Thus it is with the capitalist system. During its youth the contradictions existing within it were easily overcome . . . But as the land was occupied and more and more factories were built, it became more difficult for the capitalist system to function. The economic crises which were easily overcome in the early stages of the capitalist system of this country became more serious until in 1929 a crisis came that shook the very foundations of the country.

Throughout the world the capitalist system is in a stage of decline. Old age has set in and the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system have become acute. Unemployment, fascism, catastrophic wars — these are the diseases that afflict capitalist society in its days of decline...

This country is capable of producing tremendous quantities of goods to satisfy, beyond all imagination, the needs of the people. But the industries, under the present economic system, cannot function for peace, for life — they function only for death. The industries that were more than 50% idle in peacetime, when men needed food, clothing and shelter, are now running full blast, producing planes, bombs and dreadnaughts.

And in this period of capitalist decline people are dissatisfied and fascism appears on the scene and takes advantage of their dissatisfaction. The fascists, claiming to create a new order, are actually throwing the world back toward barbarism. Everything that man has produced that is worthwhile is destroyed by this monster of fascism. The existence of this monster, however, is not to be attributed to Hitler or Mussolini — to the ill-will of one or two or a dozen men — it is to be attributed to the decline of the capitalist system. Capitalism has reached a point where mankind must take control of the productive forces and begin producing goods for the use of the people — and this means socialism — or else it will be hurled into the abyss of fascism and destruction.

This is our belief and this is what we teach.

—From Pp. 31-32, "In Defense of Socialism," the official court record of Attorney Albert Goldman's final speech for the defense in the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial, 100 pages, 10 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

American Liberals Chatter About Italian Revolution

By John Adamson

The liberals have demonstrated by their statements on the Italian events that they fulfill the role of the traditional King's Loyal Opposition, which helps by its criticism to deflect serious opposition and acts as a safety valve for the regime. No matter how appalled they become by the crimes of the capitalists, they remain loyal and true to the capitalist system and continue working with might and main to support the war.

These pretentious, muddleheaded confusionists, quibblers and writers of sophistries reached a new high of irresponsible phrasemongering in the second phase of the Italian events when it became clear that the Badoglio government would not accede to the Allied demand for "unconditional surrender."

SUDDEN SWITCH

PM had been complaining for several days that Roosevelt and Churchill were trying to fix up a deal with Badoglio and the King and to crush the revolt of the Italian people. Suddenly on August 12, the *same* PM calls on the *same* Roosevelt and Churchill to issue an appeal to the Italian people to revolt against Badoglio and the King. *PM* even has the message all written out for Roosevelt and Churchill. It calls on the Italian people to form a united front of the socialist, communist and liberal parties to overthrow the government and establish a democracy. Among other things, the appeal states: "We know that revolution by force will be necessary."

The August 9 issue of the *New Republic* also takes up the theme of revolution. Only the week before it had issued dire warnings about the intentions and plans of the State Department. But now it glibly announces that "whether we like it or not, we are the allies of revolution in Europe."

NEW KIND OF REVOLUTION

The *New Republic* describes this revolution in appropriately vague terms: "This is a revolution, not merely against German domination, and not merely against Nazism and fascism. It is also a revolution against the kind of world, the kind of social and political order, that spewed forth these abominations."

James Burnham, another luminary of the intellectual circles, advised us but a short time ago that the coming revolution of this epoch was going to be the "managerial revolution." According to this theory, the "managers" constituted the new exploiting class that was to supplant the capitalists as the rulers of society; Stalin and Hitler were cited as prototypes of this new class.

Now writing in the *New Leader* on the Italian events, Burnham does not so much as mention his "managerial revolution" or the role of the "managers" in the coming society. He now discovers along with *The Nation, New Republic, PM* and all the other gutless publications of the liberal muddleheads, a new kind of "classless" revolution, with no social content or aims. Burnham has even gotten a brand new "scientific" name for this revolution: it is the "anti-totalitarian" revolution.

LIBERAL CHATTER

What is the meaning of all this liberal chatter about "revolution?" What kind of a revolution is brewing in Europe today? What is its social character? Every genuine revolution, we know, involves the transfer of power from the hands of one class to that of another. Is it a bourgeois revolution? Is it a proletarian revolution? All the papers and magazines of the liberals are silent on this point. They *have to be.*

They have to talk with water in their mouths. They cannot admit the existence of the class struggle. They cannot admit that the social character of the revolution that is now on the agenda in Europe is proletarian, that its aim will be to transfer power to the working class, abolish private ownership of industry and nationalize the means of production as a step in the direction of building a Socialist United States of Europe. The liberals cannot admit these facts because such an admission would blow sky high their phony propaganda about the "democratic" character of the war.

The Italian events are pretty well stripping the liberals of their pretensions to independence. They are daily hammering home the fact that the liberals are partisans of the war camp of Anglo-American capitalism which plans to crush the workers' revolution in Europe. It is this damaging evidence that the liberals try to hide when they engage in the comedy of calling on Roosevelt and Churchill, the two leading spokesmen of the leading combination of world capitalism, to aid and abet revolutions in Europe, which could only seek to abolish capitalism. That is the reason why the liberals must continue to muddy up the waters, to confuse both themselves and their followers, to chatter about this new "classless" revolution.

JUST A "BOGEY?"

The Rome Radio broadcast an appeal to the Allies on August 10: "What victory can the Anglo-Americans think to obtain from the ruins of Europe? What security can they draw from a Europe in the throes of revolution, permeated through and through by Communist virus?"

But to the "ruthless realists" of the liberal camp, the terrible fear of the workers' revolution which haunts the capitalists of Italy and of the whole world is nothing but a "red bogey." In the never-never land of the liberals, the masses organize safe, harmless, respectable revolutions with no social aims or consequences.

PM admonishes Roosevelt and Churchill not to be frightened by the Rome radio broadcast. "This is advice from the enemy taken straight from the pages of 'Mein Kampf'... Today the allies know better than to be impressed by the Rome Radio's broacast..."

J. Alvarez Del Vayo in a similar vein approvingly quotes Sforza's statement that "Allied public opinion could make no worse mistake than showing itself afraid of the so-called danger of revolution."

But Roosevelt and Churchill, the spokesmen of the capitalist classes of their respective countries, operate in the real world of the class struggle, not in the mythological fairy land of the liberals. They know that revolution in Europe today will be a workers' revolution aiming at the overthrow of capitalism, not some mythical "classless," "anti-totalitarian" revolution, aiming at nothing in particular.

They know that Socialism is no "bogey" but a mortal danger to them and their rule. They are not thinking of summoning the European workers to revolt against the Badoglios. On the contrary they are scheming and working overtime right now to aid the Badoglios and Victor Emmanuels in crushing all workers' revolutions.

NO CONCLUSION

The same *PM* which asks Roosevelt and Churchill to summon the Italian workers to revolution carries an almost clairvoyant article (for a liberal) on August 16. I. F. Stone, one of the most left of the liberals, writes: "We hesitate to invoke the people of Italy because a government of their own making, though enthusiastically anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi, would also be socialistic. In that event, American and British interests in Italy would take a loss."

What is Stone's conclusion? None. Has Stone changed his opinion on the war, now that he is wise to Anglo-American diplomacy? Not at all. Tomorrow he will probably write another article plugging for Roosevelt, or at any rate for Wallace. And PM will continue mouthing phrases about the Four Freedoms.

The Italian experience establishes conclusively that despite all their whining, bellyaching and general lamentations, the liberals are today tied body and soul to the capitalist system. As a group, they are indispensable at the present juncture of affairs to the war government. Their activities help cushion the shocks and ward off the blows from the left against the administration. In addition, the liberals are the mentors of many of the labor bureaucrats, who keep the millions of workers tied in the straitjacket of the war machine.

Regardess of what crimes the capitalists are guilty, regardless of how thoroughly the reactionary aims of the capitalist ruling classes are exposed, the liberals continue to cling to the system. Some perform their nefarious work consciously, some not. But the liberals as a group, whether conscious or unconscious, regardless of which shade or hue, remain the slavish supporters and agents of Anglo-American capitalism and its war.

AMGOT PAVES THE WAY FOR A REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN ITALY

(Continued from page 1)

Marshal Badoglio has done the same thing on the peninsula. He has signed a paper abolishing fascism, but except for a few officials at the top he has to rely on the very same men who kept things going before. . ."

It certainly will sound "curious" to many people—especially when they remember that Badoglio was a supporter of fascism for 20 years and is still a partner of Hitler, while the Allies are supposed to be fighting a war for democracy!

ROOSEVELT'S PROMISE

"But," some liberals will complain, "that isn't giving a fair picture of Allied policy. After all, the present arrangement is only temporary. Didn't President Roosevelt promise that 'eventually' the Italian people will get the right to elect their own form of government?"

Roosevelt did make such a promise, but what it amounts to is revealed in a frank admission by Matthews:

"Theoretically the people of Italy will have their chances to choose their own form of government when the time comes, but it takes only a little cogitation to realize that AMG's activities between now and then will profoundly affect the mechanism and the choice of leaders through which the new government will take form. . ."

Or, as it is put in another dispatch to the same issue of the **N. Y. Times,** from Allied headquarters in North Africa: "What is important to recognize now is that the AMGOT is drastically changing the judicial and legislative structures of Sicily and is necessarily placing itself—with military support, of course—in a position where it will have to choose what men are going to be the executives of the future Italian government. . ."

FUTURE DECIDED NOW

AMGOT, which has forbidden all political activity in the occupied territories, asserts that it has no intention of "meddling in politics." Fools may believe or pretend to believe this, but the Italian people certainly recognize AMGOT's collaboration with the fascists as a political act of the first order. **Many liberals seem to think that Italy's future will not be decided until after the war, but the Italian people can see that it is being decided right now—in the name of "expediency" and the "prevention of chaos."**

And the Italian workers can be expected to fight against such a policy whether it is carried out by a Badoglio or by an AMGOT.

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The Kind Of Government Stalin Wants In Germany

By M. Morrison

The whole world correctly assumes that the "Free Germany" National Committee organized in Moscow is the work of Stalin and that the manifesto issued by the committee has Stalin's approval. It is to be taken for granted that no political committee can be created and no manifesto issued without the consent of the Kremlin dictator, in fact without being initiated by him.

Immediately after the manifesto was made public, speculation began as to Stalin's motives in organizing a Free Germany committee and having it present a program for Germany. It is highly significant that no one, outside of the Stalinists, examined the manifesto to determine Stalin's motives. It is assumed that his purposes are never revealed in the political documents he presents. These are generally intended to conceal his motives and create confusion.

The manifesto could very well be the product of a group of liberals aiming to establish in Germany an ideal democratic capitalist social order with all the freedoms for capitalists, workers, farmers and intellectuals. Hitler is the beast upon whom all the blame for the woes of the German nation is placed. In fact, the clear inference can be drawn from the manifesto that Hitler is to be condemned not because he represents fascism but because he failed to achieve victory. Had victory been his lot instead of defeat, the German people, according to the manifesto, should have accepted him with enthusiasm.

From Stalin, head of a state where capitalism has been abolished, comes the advice that a free capitalism should be established in Germany. From the Kremlin dictator who does not permit any freedom whatever to exist in the Soviet Union comes a program standing for free trade unions, freedom of speech, of press, of assembly and of elections. No wonder that no intelligent person, outside of the ranks of the Stalinists, takes the manifesto as an expression of Stalin's real purpose.

* * *

The creation of the committee and the issuance of the manifesto have generally been interpreted as a warning to England and the United States and as a bargaining factor. This is undoubtedly correct as far as it goes. By forming the committee Stalin expresses his independence as against England and the United States and thus places himself in a stronger bargaining position. Stalin takes great care to assure the capitalist democracies that his program for post-war Germany has nothing to do with socialism. Nevertheless by means of the manifesto he warns the Allies that he is not to be left out of the picture and that his demands must be taken into consideration to get his consent for any arrangement for Germany or any part of Europe.

It seems to me, however, that the most important purpose which the committee with its manifesto can serve is not as a hint to the Allies but as an appeal to important groups in Germany. The manifesto must be taken to mean that Stalin is of the opinion that not only is Hitler's defeat certain but that it may come suddenly and soon. He has probably been advised of a deep discontent and worry prevailing in wide sections of the German people — discontent with Hitler and worry about Germany's fate under the rule of an Allied army. The manifesto assures Germans of all classes, including the "good fascists," that the best solution for them is to tie up with Stalin; that the Free Germany Committee has already done so; and that now it is up to the German people to do the same thing.

Stalin, through the manifesto, assures the Germans that he has no intention of destroying the German nation. From the point of view of capitalist propaganda to hasten Hitler's downfall, the manifesto follows a far more clever line than the one followed by Roosevelt and Churchill. The argument propounded by the politicians of the capitalist democracies is that the German people are endowed by nature with aggressive intentions and must therefore be kept under strict surveillance. The manifesto of Stalin is based on the argument that Hitler alone is to blame.

It is quite natural that Stalin should adopt a line far more agreeable to Germans of all classes than the line followed by the capitalist democracies. Although he is still clamoring for a second front, Stalin is undoubtedly aware of the danger to the Soviet Union and to the Bureaucracy which powerful Anglo-American capitalist armies in Europe would present. So long as Hitler is not defeated, Stalin must continue to call for a second front and run the risk of having British and American armies determine the fate of Europe. But he would much rather the war came to an end before the armies of the capitalist democracies enter Europe. In such an eventuality Stalin would not only be able to claim a larger share in the victory but would also be in position to oppose the sending of British and American troops to occupy Germany.

There is a very great probability that, when the German generals see the inevitability of a complete collapse of the German army, they will enter into negotiations with British and American leaders on the basis of scrapping Hitler and permitting British and American forces to occupy Germany while keeping the eastern front intact. If complete defeat is inevitable, the German ruling class will turn to the capitalist democracies for protection against revolution. Stalin is aware of this possible turn to events and, through the manifesto, he hastens to assure the German capitalists and generals that, if they get rid of Hitler, they need have no fear for the continued existence of the capitalist system and of Germany as far Stalin is concerned. They can get better terms from him than from the capitalist democracies who are demanding unconditional surrender.

* * *

Stalin and the leaders of the capitalist democracies are interested in defeating the German army. But there necessarily is a basic difference between the attitude of Stalin towards the post-war Germany and the attitude of the British and American capitalists. This difference is based on the different roles that a German capitalist state can play in the post-war period in relation to the Soviet Union and in relation to the capitalist democracies.

For the latter a capitalist Germany always represents a dangerous competitor. With its powerful industrial machine, Germany, even without an army, presents a constant threat to the lucrative markets of the English and American capitalists. The far-sighted capitalist spokesmen of England and the United States see in the control of German economy the only reliable means of keeping Germany from becoming a powerful antagonist.

For Stalin a capitalist Germany is not an industrial competitor but a country from which he can import useful and necessary machinery and thus reduce his dependence on England and the United States. It will take years for the Soviet Union to recover from the tremendous destruction wrought by Hitler's armies. Germany is the only capitalist country which can help in the rebuilding of the Soviet Union without demanding serious concessions.

It is true that a capitalist Germany, as part of the capitalist world, is always a danger to the Soviet Union. But Stalin does not base his policies on a premise which requires a world revolutionary outlook. He bases his policies on the premise of continuing his bureaucracy in power. From this premise a capitalist Germany without Hitler and without the complete control of British and American armies would constitute a big asset.

What Stalin hopes for in Germany is a "revolution" on the order of the Badoglio "revolution" in Italy — the ousting of Hitler and the substitution of someone not openly marked as a fascist leader. In this case also Stalin's hopes run contrary to the interests of the German masses, who will not at all be satisfied simply to get rid of Hitler and substitute for him either a military dictatorship or a refurbished Weimar republic.

Roosevelt Orders Drastic Sanctions Against Unions

(Continued from page 1)

all of the provisions on which the sanctions order is based.

The Act was vetoed on the contention that Section 8, which provides for a 30-day "cooling off period" before a strike vote, would "stimulate labor unrest."

The veto message also requested legislation to permit induction into non-combat military service of persons up to the age of 65. "This will enable us," Roosevelt stated, "to induct into military service all persons who engage in strikes . . . in plants in possession of the United States."

"I am unalterably opposed to strikes in wartime," the President declared in vetoing the Smith-Connally Act. "I do not hesitate to use the powers of government to prevent them."

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— LEON TROTSKY

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7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Litvinov Recalled

Stalin's recall of Ambassadors Litvinov and Maisky reveals again the great difference between Soviet diplomacy under Stalin and Soviet diplomacy under Lenin and Trotsky.

Lenin and Trotsky placed their main reliance on the genuine allies of the workers' state — the working class and the oppressed masses throughout the world. These allies were always told the truth. The dangers facing the Soviet Union were never minimized to them and they were provided by the Bolshevik leaders with an accurate picture of the reactionary intentions of the world imperialists. Aroused and mobilized in this manner, these working class allies of the Soviet Union were able 25 years ago to defeat the intervention schemes of the imperialists and to help save the first workers' state.

Stalin has turned his back upon these genuine allies of the Soviet Union. He has no confidence in their ability to play an independent role, and relies mainly on alliances with the capitalist powers. While such alliances are sometimes necessary and are not wrong in and of themselves, they must always be recognized as unstable and subordinate instruments for aiding the workers' state. Instead of admitting this to the workers of the world, Stalin lies to them about the true nature and intentions of their capitalist rulers and urges them to discontinue their class struggles.

For over two years Stalin has been trying to get his allies to open a second front in western Europe. But with no success. Because he has helped to strangle the independent movement of the workers, he has no means of influencing events and decisions other than by the manipulation of pawns on the diplomatic chessboard.

Lenin and Trotsky could rely on the support of the great majority of the oppressed masses of the world. Stalin, however, has done everything in his power — in return for capitalist alliances — to disorient the world proletariat, to destroy the revolutionary movement abroad, to smash the bonds of internationalism. With the Soviet Union facing the German army alone for the third year, Stalin can only withdraw his ambassadors from Britain and the United States to signify his displeasure and attempt to exert public pressure on his allies.

Meanwhile, he offers not the slightest inspiration or guidance to the real allies of the Soviet Union — the Italian workers, who have already demonstrated their revolutionary capacity, and the rest of the workers of Axis-controlled Europe who are only awaiting the opportunity to rise up and smash their oppressors.

Stalin's foreign policies have been approved in the past by many class-conscious workers — even though these workers recognized his policies to be a departure from the principles and traditions of Marx and Lenin — on the ground that these policies were "practical." It is precisely from this point of view that Stalin's policy reveals its utter bankruptcy.

Big Business Losing Supporters

"If you had to choose, which would you prefer to have [in] control of the government — big business or labor unions?" This question was put to a cross-section of the voting population in the 48 states by the Gallup poll and the results published last week.

Big Business received 45% of the vote; labor unions 26%; and 29% were undecided. Thus, after 75 years in power, Big Business does not command the confidence of the majority of the American people, if we take this poll as a criterion.

Republicans, as might be expected, were overwhelmingly in favor of Big Business influence in government. So were the upper income bracketeers. Among the Democrats, however, in which workers predominate, about as many (34%) favored the unions as favored Big Business (35%), while 31% remained undecided. The same division occurred among the lower income group where 34% voted for the unions as against 33% for Big Business.

These Gallup figures are all the more significant because the trade unions have not yet come to understand the necessity for building a political party of their own, let alone the necessity for labor to run the government.

Still, even under the present leadership of the trade unions, whose cowardly political program consists of clinging to the coat tails of Roosevelt, over one half of the lower income groups (and, in reality, they make up the preponderant majority of the population) is becoming disillusioned with the present system and favors labor running the government. In addition, fully a third of the people have not yet made up their minds on the question.

If correctly analyzed, these figures provide verification of the Marxist contention that as the crisis of capitalism matures, the great mass of the people will look to labor to lead the fight against predatory Big Business. These figures serve as additional proof to the many signs already available that great political shifts are in the offing, that great masses of people are losing faith in the present capitalist system and its leadership and are eagerly awaiting a leadership that has the program and the will to solve their pressing economic and political problems. The time is ripe and more than ripe for the launching of that kind of independent party of labor.

Rickenbacker Praises Stalin

Stalin's domestic and foreign policies give aid and comfort to world imperialism and to the capitalist class of all countries. This fact receives fresh confirmation from that hero of Big Business, the notorious labor-baiting and union-hating Captain Edward Rickenbacker. In an interview upon returning from *his* mission to Moscow, Rickenbacker was no less profuse than ex-Ambassador Davies in praise of Stalin's regime.

Under Stalin, he says, "Russia is moving toward capitalism." Rickenbacker was particularly impressed by the severe punishment meted out to workers for the slightest infractions of discipline, the lack of worker's rights and democracy. "They have been constantly turning to the right, as evidenced in many ways, during the last twelve months."

Rickenbacker was no less certain that Stalin's dissolution of the Communist international was sincere and permanent. "Anyone knows," he remarked, "that Stalin has been opposed to world revolution."

What Rickenbacker admires and praises in the Soviet Union are precisely those features which have been imposed upon the first workers' state by its isolation, its encirclement by the capitalist world, and above all by the reactionary policies of the Stalinist regime. As he explicitly states, he is pleased by every departure from Soviet democracy and every move made "in the direction of capitalism." And he recognizes the Stalin regime as the agency of this reactionary course.

Rickenbacker, however, passes over in silence those features of the Soviet Union which are fundamentally opposed to capitalism: the nationalization of the land and the factories; the destruction of capitalist property relations and profits; and all the other conquests of the October revolution which the Stalinist regime has not succeeded in destroying and which are the source of the successes of the Red Armies and the high morale of the Soviet people. Nor does this labor-baiter recommend that the American workers and farmers emulate these achievements of the Russian revolution. Rickenbacker remains true to himself and to Big Business both in his opposition to the Russian Revolution and its conquests as well as in his praise of Stalin.

Cannon Book Teaches Fundamental Lessons

By Harry Frankel

"The Struggle For A Proletarian Party" is a collection of the writings of James P. Cannon during an internal factional dispute in the Socialist Workers Party. It must be explained that this book does not merely record a past dispute. It was Cannon who said of Trotsky that he not only made a revolution, but wrote a book in which he explained the laws that govern all revolutions. Similarly, Cannon in this book not only wrote the history of the most important political dispute in the American Trotskyist movement, but set down the laws that govern all political disputes.

The Historical Perspective

Had Cannon written in the spirit of personal animosity, petty recrimination and bickering which is so common in internal fights of petty-bourgeois parties, and even of inexperienced workers' parties, there would be nothing that could be learned from the book. But he avoided this fatal and degrading method, and sought always to maintain a historical perspective and to draw from each question under dispute, no matter how trivial, a Marxist lesson for the education of the Party.

Some examples of this method can easily be extracted from the many topics dealt with in the book.

James Burnham, the political leader of the petty-bourgeois opposition, is a New York University professor who thought he could lead the workers' movement in his spare time. But the contradiction between his academic life and his life in the movement was irreconcilable, and was the cause of his deserting the principles of Marxism. The opposition he headed only served him as the vehicle for his ignominious exit from the movement.

The reprehensible nature of his conduct is at once apparent. But you can be sure that Cannon does not spend so many pages of his book on Burnham merely to annihilate this petty trifler. Instead, Burnham is analyzed as the prototype of all petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Almost everyone in the labor and radical movement has had experience with these unstable allies of the working class, and everyone will understand them better after reading Cannon's book.

The Evils of Combinationism

Unprincipled combinationism and clique politics were dominant in the petty-bourgeois opposition. These deadly evils are dissected by Cannon in classic Marxist fashion, and the Bolshevik, principled method of political struggle is taught. Here too, important lessons can be learned. Marxists understand that the proletarian party is the microcosm of the proletarian class. Methods of struggle learned in the party carry over naturally to the trade unions and mass organizations of today, and to the revolutionary workers' councils of tomorrow. Those who learn correctly in the party today will be the most authoritative spokesmen for the class tomorrow.

This is a book on organization questions. But does this in any way lessen its importance? Those who really understand the workers' struggle will not think so. The political axis around which all modern history revolves is the struggle of the working class to organize a state of its own. But, before it can do this, it must organize a party of its own. Thus a book on the organization of the party in reality considers the political questions of today in their sharpest and most pressing form. For that reason it will catch and hold the interest of serious advanced workers everywhere.

Resistance To Fascism Growing Inside Germany

(Continued from page 1)

to accept Hitler's "ideals" and to join the Nazi Party in large numbers. Today we see that the University of Munich, cradle of National Socialism, is the seat of the main opposition to the Nazi regime.

A TYPICAL PRODUCT

Hans Scholl, the leader of the students' revolt, was a typical product of the Nazi regime. He was a member of the Nazi student organization and was trained as a soldier in the Nazi Army. He was imbued with a contempt for every conception other than the National Socialist "philosophy." He fought with his regiment at Stalingrad but was sent back to resume his studies before the final defeat. The terrible ordeals which he suffered and the awful shambles to which Scholl was witness seem to have changed his outlook. On his return to Germany the whole regime appeared in its true light. As a result of his change of ideas, he and his sister brought out a leaflet in which he stated:

"What Hitler and his confederates mean by freedom and honor they have shown only too well in ten years of destruction of all personal freedom, all freedom of thought, all moral principles of the German people. The eyes of the most stupid Germans have been opened by the terrible blood bath in which they endeavor to drown all Europe in the name of the freedom and the honor of the German nation. The German name will remain forever dishonored if German youth does not at last rise, revenge, atone, destroy its tormentors and help build up a new spiritual conception of Europe."

There was widespread response to the call of these students and it resulted in an anti-fascist riot prior to Scholl's arrest.

MORE UNREST REPORTED

Scholl was not betrayed by his fellow students or the professors of the university, since it is known that between ten and twenty professors were arrested for implication in the "plots." He was betrayed by a porter, one of the spies that exist in every university, every school, every hospital, every workshop and every tenement throughout Germany. Hans Scholl, his sister and four others, as well as a professor, were shot, but their heroic opposition is not ended. Disturbances, unrest is reported not only from Munich but from Karlsruhe, Heidelburg, and Leipzig.

It is quite clear that not only are the German workers **not responsible for Hitler and his gangsters, but that they are daily suffering torture and risking their lives in a struggle against Hitler and the fascist regime.** With each day that passes the mood of the German masses becomes clearer.

On June 13 the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, the voice of the Nazi Party, stated:

NAZIS COMPLAIN

"We in particular must acknowledge our close links with the Party, even though this may require a good deal of 'civic courage.' It is easy, and it may appear advantageous to profess membership in the Party on festive occasions, to appear and act as a Parteigenosse (party comrade) in everyday life and at all times is incomparably harder and by no means easy."

An analysis of this statement made by the Party shows a clear admission not only of the unpopularity of the Nazi Party, but of the dislike that members have of admitting membership in the party, as well as an unwillingness to act as a member at all times.

Despite the murderous Nazi regime and its propaganda, despite the lies and slanders of the so-called socialists of Britain, the German workers are beginning to regain their confidence. They are beginning to see if not a clear alternative, at least who are their enemies.

John Gurney, writing from Stockholm on Thursday, June 10, reports a significant statement from the German underground movement:

"It is by ourselves alone—not from the invaders—that we shall get our freedom."

(Reprinted from the mid-July issue of the British Socialist Appeal.)

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By JAMES P. CANNON

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Roosevelt and Churchill Conceal Diplomatic Moves

The first of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points called for "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international undertakings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view." Twenty-five years after the "war to end all wars," secret diplomacy flourishes more luxuriantly in the United States than ever before.

Roosevelt's diplomacy certainly doesn't "proceed always frankly and in the public view," as the Darlan deal and the AMGOT policies demonstrate. Consider the secrecy surrounding the Quebec conference. Though no warring power can risk divulging its military plans, any government which claims, as the Roosevelt administration does, to be fighting in a democratic manner for democratic aims is duty-bound to inform its own people about its international policies and plans.

How many more Darlan deals are being cooked up in Quebec? What kind of negotiations have been going on with King Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio? What commitments have been made with the various reactionary governments-in-exile which infest Washington and London? What conspiracies are they hatching against the Soviet Union?

The American people have the right to know what political problems are being discussed and decided by Roosevelt and Churchill. Nothing less is involved than the disposition of their own fate.

One of the first acts of the Bolsheviks after they took power in 1917 was to instruct Trotsky, then Commissar of Foreign Affairs, to publish all the secret treaties that the Czarist and Kerensky governments had made with the Anglo-American allies. For the first time the peoples knew how these bandits proposed to divide up the world amongst themselves.

Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government, a government honestly representing the people and their interests, can practice open diplomacy. Any government that represents a small clique of big industrialists and bankers must practice secret diplomacy. That is why Roosevelt and Churchill, like two criminals, hatch their plans in the dark of the moon.

What Victory Will Bring To Colonies in Africa

What will happen to Africa after the war? Churchill has already answered, on behalf of British imperialism, that he doesn't intend to permit the liquidation of the British Empire. And both De Gaulle and Giraud have made it clear that they intend to hang on to every square inch in the French colonies in Africa.

But what about the rest of Africa, what about the colonies that have been taken away from the Axis? While his superiors, Hull and Roosevelt, were in Quebec last week, Henry S. Villard, assistant chief of the State Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs, delivered a speech in Chautauqua, N. Y., in which he gave what he called "the standpoint of the American government."

"Instant liberation" of the African colonies would bring chaos, said Villard. He asserted that **"it is unlikely that the former enemy territories in Africa will come into the outright possession of any one power"** and added: "It is improbable that the United States would **alone** accept jurisdiction or control over former enemy territory."

Thus all the people in these African colonies can expect out of the war is a change in masters; instead of being exploited by one Axis power, they will be exploited by more than one Allied power. The Atlantic Charter promise to restore the independence of countries conquered by the Axis is all right for speeches but not for the African masses.

Employers Try to End All Limits On Profits

Corporation profits after taxes are up to almost 200% of what they were in 1939, but Big Business is hardly content: it now wants to repeal the contract-renegotiation law which placed some minor limits on huge war profits.

When the government first began spending billions of dollars for war supplies back in 1940, Roosevelt denounced "war profiteering" and promised that nobody would make big money out of the war. But the huge profits of the Sixty Families gives the lie to these promises. Practically all that was done to enforce them was the law providing that the Army and Navy would review war contracts and cut down costs wherever increased production meant still further profits to Big Business.

While the government poured billions into the coffers of the monopolies through new plants, equipment and high rates on most war material, the Army and Navy saved a few hundred millions through renegotiations. In most cases this "saving" did not make more than a small dent in the super-profits of the big monopolies. They more than compensated for it by the speedup alone.

But Big Business is still not satisfied. Why should they have to kick back even a small percentage of their profits to the government? Doesn't that smack of socialism or something? So reason the spokesmen of the Sixty Families who are now engaged in a big propaganda campaign and congressional lobby to repeal, or put the spikes into, the renegotiation law.

Millions of workers, whose jobs are frozen and whose pay checks keep sinking through increased taxes and higher prices, will have little sympathy with the campaign of the Sixty Families to delete the renegotiation restrictions on their swollen profits. On the contrary, as part of their fight to prevent the entire burden of the war from being shoved onto the backs of the workers, the unions should not only oppose this Big Business move but should also raise the demand for the confiscation of all war profits.